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COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

AMERICA,

On the following intereſting

SUBJECTS.

I. Of the Origin and Deſign of Government in general, with conciſe Remarks on the Engliſh Conſtitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion.

III. Thoughts on the preſent State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the preſent Ability of America, with ſome miſcellaneous Reflections.

WRITTEN BY AN ENGLISHMAN.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Man knows no Maſter ſave creating HEAVEN,
Or thoſe whom choice and common good ordain.

THOMSON.

PHILADELPHIA;
Printed, and Sold, by R. BELL, in Third-Street.

MDCCLXXVI.

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS the Sentiments contained in the following Pages, are not *yet* ſufficiently faſhionable to procure them general Favour; a long Habit of not thinking a Thing *wrong*, gives it a ſuperficial appearance of being *right*, and raiſes at firſt a formidable Outcry in defence of Cuſtom. But the Tumult ſoon ſubſides. Time makes more Converts than Reaſon.

As a long and violent abuſe of Power, is generally the Means of calling the right of it in queſtion (and in Matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the Sufferers been aggravated into the enquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his *own Right*, to ſupport the Parliament in what he calls *Theirs*, and as the good People of this Country are grievouſly oppreſſed by the Combination, they have an undoubted Privilege to enquire into the Pretenſions of both, and equally to reject the Uſurpation of either.

In

INTRODUCTION.

In the following Sheets, the Author hath ſtudiouſly avoided every Thing which is perſonal among ourſelves. Compliments as well as cenſure to Individuals make no Part thereof. The wiſe, and the worthy, need not the Triumph of a Pamphlet; and thoſe whoſe Sentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will ceaſe of themſelves unleſs too much Pains are beſtowed upon their Converſion.

The Cauſe of America is in a great Meaſure the Cauſe of all Mankind. Many Circumſtances have, and will ariſe, which are not local, but univerſal, and through which the Principles of all Lovers of Mankind are affected, and in the Event of which, their Affections are intereſted. The laying a Country deſolate with Fire and Sword, declaring War againſt the natural Rights of all Mankind, and extirpating the Defenders thereof from the Face of the Earth, is the Concern of every Man to whom Nature hath given the Power of feeling; of which Claſs, regardleſs of Party Cenſure, is the

AUTHOR.

COMMON SENSE.

Of the Origin and Deſign of GOVERNMENT *in general, with conciſe Remarks on the* ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

SOME writers have ſo confounded ſociety with government, as to leave little or no diſtinction between them; whereas, they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedneſs; the former promotes our happineſs *poſitively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by reſtraining our vices. The one encourages intercourſe, the other creates diſtinctions. The firſt is a patron, the laſt a puniſher.

Society in every ſtate is a bleſſing, but Government even in its beſt ſtate is but a neceſſary evil; in its worſt ſtate an intolerable one: for when we ſuffer, or are expoſed to the ſame miſeries *by a Government*, which we might expect in a country *without Government*, our calamity is heightened by

reflecting that we furniſh the means by which we ſuffer. Government like dreſs is the badge of loſt innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradiſe. For were the impulſes of conſcience clear, uniform, and irreſiſtibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the caſe, he finds it neceſſary to ſurrender up a part of his property to furniſh means for the protection of the reſt; and this he is induced to do, by the ſame prudence which in every other caſe adviſes him, out of two evils to chooſe the leaſt. Wherefore, ſecurity being the true deſign and end of government, it unanſwerably follows, that whatever form thereof appears moſt likely to enſure it to us, with the leaſt expence and greateſt benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and juſt idea of the deſign and end of government, let us ſuppoſe a ſmall number of perſons ſettled in ſome ſequeſtered part of the earth, unconnected with the reſt; they will then repreſent the firſt peopling of any country; or of the world. In this ſtate of natural liberty, ſociety will be their firſt thought. A thouſand motives will excite them thereto, the ſtrength of one man

man is ſo unequal to his wants, and his mind ſo unfitted for perpetual ſolitude, that he is ſoon obliged to ſeek aſſiſtance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the ſame. Four or five united would be able to raiſe a tolerable dwelling in the midſt of a wilderneſs, but one man might labour out the common period of life without accompliſhing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him to quit his work, and every different want call him a different way. Diſeaſe, nay even misfortune would be death; for tho' neither might be mortal, yet either would diſable him from living, and reduce him to a ſtate in which he might rather be ſaid to periſh, than to die.

Thus neceſſity like a gravitating power would ſoon form our newly arrived emigrants into ſociety, the reciprocal bleſſings of which, would ſuperſede, and render the obligations of law and goverment unneceſſary while they remained perfectly juſt to each other: but as nothing but Heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen that in proportion as they ſurmount the firſt difficulties of emigration, which bound

bound them together in a common cauſe, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other: and this remiſſneſs will point out the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome form of government to ſupply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a State Houſe, under the branches of which the whole Colony may aſſemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their firſt laws will have the title only of REGULATIONS and be enforced by no other penalty than public diſeſteem. In this firſt parliament every man by natural right will have a ſeat.

But as the Colony encreaſes, the public concerns will encreaſe likewiſe, and the diſtance at which the members may be ſeparated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occaſion as at firſt, when their number was ſmall, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling, This will point out the convenience of their conſenting to leave the legiſlative part to be managed by a ſelect number choſen from the whole body, who are ſuppoſed to have the ſame concerns at ſtake

ſtake which thoſe have who appointed them, and who will act in the ſame manner as the whole body would act were they preſent. If the colony continues encreaſing, it will become neceſſary to augment the number of the repreſentatives, and that the intereſt of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found beſt to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part ſending its proper number: and that the *elected* might never form to themſelves an intereſt ſeparate from the electors, prudence will point out the propriety of having elections often: becauſe as the elected might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the electors in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be ſecured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themſelves. And as this frequent interchange will eſtabliſh a common intereſt with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally ſupport each other, and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the *ſtrength of government*; *and the happineſs of the governed.*

Here then is the origin and riſe of government; namely, a mode rendered neceſſary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world;

world; here too is the deſign and end of government, viz. Freedom and ſecurity. And however our eyes may be dazzled with ſhow, or our ears deceived by ſound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or intereſt darken our underſtanding, the ſimple voice of nature and of reaſon will ſay, 'tis right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature which no art can overturn, viz. That the more ſimple any thing is, the leſs liable it is to be diſordered, and the eaſier repaired when diſordered; and with this maxim in view I offer a few remarks on the ſo much boaſted conſtitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and ſlaviſh times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was over-run with tyranny the leaſt remove therefrom was a glorious reſcue. But that it is imperfect, ſubject to convulſions, and incapable of producing what it ſeems to promiſe is eaſily demonſtrated.

Abſolute governments, (tho' the diſgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are ſimple; if the people ſuffer, they know the head from which their ſuffering

ſuffering ſprings; know likewiſe the remedy; and are not bewildered by a variety of cauſes and cures. But the conſtitution of England is ſo exceedingly complex, that the nation may ſuffer for years together without being able to diſcover in which part the fault lies, ſome will ſay in one and ſome in another, and every political phyſician will adviſe a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long ſtanding prejudices, yet if we will ſuffer ourſelves to examine the component parts of the Engliſh conſtitution, we ſhall find them to be the baſe remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with ſome new Republican materials.

Firſt.—The remains of Monarchical tyranny in the perſon of the King.

Secondly.—The remains of Ariſtocratical tyranny in the perſons of the Peers.

Thirdly—The new Republican materials, in the perſons of the Commons, on whoſe virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two firſt by being hereditary are independent

independent of the People; wherefore in a *conſtitutional ſenſe* they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the State.

To ſay that the conſtitution of England is an *union* of three powers reciprocally *checking* each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning or they are flat contradictions.

To ſay that the Commons are a check upon the King, preſuppoſes two things.

Firſt.—That the King is not to be truſted without being looked after; or in other words, that a thirſt for abſolute power is the natural diſeaſe of Monarchy.

Secondly.—That the Commons by being appointed for that purpoſe, are either wiſer or more worthy of confidence than the Crown.

But as the ſame conſtitution which gives the Commons a power to check the King by with-holding the ſupplies, gives afterwards the King a power to check the Commons by empowering him to reject their other bills; it again ſuppoſes that the King is wiſer

wiſer than thoſe whom it has already ſuppoſed to be wiſer than him. A mere abſurdity!

There is ſomething exceedingly ridiculous in the compoſition of Monarchy; it firſt excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in caſes where the higheſt judgment is required.— The ſtate of a king ſhuts him from the world yet the buſineſs of a king requires him to know it thoroughly: wherefore, the different parts by unnaturally oppoſing and deſtroying each other, prove the whole character to be abſurd and uſeleſs.

Some writers have explained the Engliſh conſtitution thus; the King ſay they is one, the people another; the Peers are an houſe in behalf of the King; the Commons in behalf of the people; but this hath all the diſtinctions of an houſe divided againſt itſelf; and tho' the expreſſions be pleaſantly arranged, yet when examined they appear idle and ambiguous: and it will always happen, that the niceſt conſtruction that words are capable of, when applied to the deſcription of ſomething which either cannot exiſt, or is too incomprehenſible to be within the compaſs of deſcription, will be words of ſound

only, and tho' they may amuſe the ear, they cannot inform the mind: for this explanation includes a previous queſtion, viz. *how came the King by a power which the people are afraid to truſt and always obliged to check?* Such a power could not be the gift of a wiſe people, neither can any power *which needs checking* be from God: yet the proviſion which the conſtitution makes, ſuppoſes ſuch a power to exiſt.

But the proviſion is unequal to the taſk, the means either cannot, or will not accompliſh the end, and the whole affair is a *Felo de ſe*: for as the greater weight will always carry up the leſs, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the conſtitution has the moſt weight, for that will govern: and tho' the others, or a part of them, may clog, or check the rapidity of its motion, yet ſo long as they cannot ſtop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual: The firſt moving power will at laſt have its way, and what it wants in ſpeed will be ſupplied by time.

That the crown is this overbearing part in the Engliſh conſtitution needs not be mentioned,

tioned, and that it derives its whole conſequence merely from being the giver of places and penſions is ſelf evident, wherefore, tho' we have been wiſe enough to lock the door againſt abſolute Monarchy, we at the ſame time have been fooliſh enough to put the Crown in poſſeſſion of the key.

The prejudice of Engliſhmen in favour of their own government by King, Lords and Commons, ariſes as much or more from national pride than reaſon. Individuals are undoubtedly ſafer in England than in ſome other countries : but the will of the King is as much the law of the land in Britain as in France with this difference, that inſtead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the more formidable ſhape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles the Firſt, hath only made kings more ſubtle—not more juſt.

Wherefore laying aſide all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that *it is wholly owing to the conſtitution of the people, and not to the conſtitution of the government* that the crown is not as oppreſſive in England as in Turkey.

An

An enquiry into the *conſtitutional errors* in the Engliſh form of government, is at this time highly neceſſary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing juſtice to others, while we continue under the influence of ſome leading partiality, ſo neither are we capable of doing it to ourſelves while we remain fettered by any obſtinate prejudice. And as a man who is attached to a proſtitute is unfitted to chooſe or judge of a wife, ſo any prepoſſeſſion in favour of a rotten conſtitution of government will diſable us from diſcerning a good one.

Of MONARCHY *and hereditary ſucceſſion.*

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be deſtroyed by ſome ſubſequent circumſtance: the diſtinctions of rich and poor may in a great meaſure be accounted for, and that without having recourſe to the harſh ill-ſounding names of oppreſſion and avarice. Oppreſſion is often the *conſequence*, but ſeldom or never the *means* of riches: and tho' avarice will preſerve a man from being neceſſitouſly poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

But

But there is another and greater diſtinction for which no truly natural or religious reaſon can be aſſigned, and that is, the diſtinction of Men into KINGS and SUBJECTS. Male and female are the diſtinctions of nature, good and bad the diſtinctions of Heaven; but how a race of men came into the world ſo exalted above the reſt, and diſtinguiſhed like ſome new ſpecies, is worth enquiring into, and whether they are the means of happineſs or of miſery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world according to the ſcripture chronology there were no kings; the conſequence of which was, there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throws mankind into confuſion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this laſt century, than any of the monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the ſame remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the firſt Patriarchs hath a happy ſomething in them, which vaniſhes away when we come to the hiſtory of Jewiſh royalty.

Government by kings was firſt introduced into the World by the Heathens, from whom the children of Iſreal copied the cuſtom

tom. It was the moſt proſperous invention the Devil ever ſet on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honours to their deceaſed Kings, and the Chriſtian World hath improved on the plan by doing the ſame to their living ones. How impious is the title of ſacred Majeſty applied to a worm, who in the midſt of his ſplendor is crumbling into duſt.

As the exalting one man ſo greatly above the reſt cannot be juſtified on the equal rights of nature, ſo neither can it be defended on the authority of ſcripture; for the will of the Almighty as declared by Gideon and the Prophet Samuel, expreſſly diſapproves of government by Kings, all anti-monarchical parts of ſcripture have been very ſmoothly gloſſed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which have their governments yet to form. "*Render unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's*" is the ſcripture doctrine of courts, yet it is no ſupport of monarchical government, for the Jews at that time were without a king and in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the Romans.

Near three thouſand years paſſed away from

from the Moſaic account of the creation, till the Jews under a national deluſion requeſted a king. Till then, their form of government, (except in exraordinary caſes where the Almighty interpoſed) was a kind of Republic adminiſtred by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held ſinful to acknowledge any Being under that title but the Lord of Hoſts. And when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the perſons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty ever jealous of his honour, ſhould diſapprove of a form of government which ſo impiouſly invades the prerogative of Heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in ſcripture as one of the ſins of the Jews, for which a curſe in reſerve is denounced againſt them. The hiſtory of that tranſaction is worth attending to.

The children of Iſrael being oppreſſed by the Midianites, Gideon marched againſt them with a ſmall army, and victory thro' the Divine interpoſition decided in his favour, The Jews elate with ſucceſs, and attributing it to the generalſhip of Gideon, propoſed making him a king; ſaying *Rule thou*

thou over us, thou and thy ſon and thy ſon's ſon. Here was temptation in its fulleſt extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one, but Gideon in the piety of his ſoul replied, *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my ſon rule over you.* THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU. Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not decline the honour, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the poſitive ſtile of a prophet charges them with diſaffection to their proper Sovereign, the King of Heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this they fell again into the ſame error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous cuſtoms of the Heathens, is ſomething exceedingly unaccountable; but ſo it was, that laying hold of the miſconduct of Samuel's two ſons who were entruſted with ſome ſecular concerns they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel ſaying, *behold thou art old, and thy ſons walk not in thy ways, now make us a king to judge us like all the other nations.* And here we cannot but obſerve that their motives were bad, viz. that they might be *like* unto other nations,

nations, *i. e.* the Heathens, whereas their true glory laid in being as much *unlike* them as poſſible. *But the thing diſpleaſed Samuel when they ſaid, give us a King to judge us: and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord ſaid unto Samuel hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me,* THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM. *According to all the works which they have done ſince the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forſaken me and ſerved other Gods: ſo do they alſo unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice, howbeit, proteſt ſolemnly unto them and ſhew them the manner of the King that ſhall reign over them, i e.* not of any particular King, but the general manner of the Kings of the Earth whom Iſrael was ſo eagerly copying after. And notwithſtanding the great diſtance of time and difference of manners, the character is ſtill in faſhion. *And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that aſked of him a King. And he ſaid this ſhall be the manner of the King that ſhall reign over you. He will take your ſons and appoint them for himſelf for his chariots and to be his horſe men, and ſome ſhall run before his chariots.* (This

deſcription agrees with the preſent mode of impreſſing men) *and he will appoint him captains over thouſands and captains over fifties, will ſet them to ear his ground and to reap his harveſt, and to make his inſtruments of war and inſtruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.* (This deſcribes the expence and luxury as well as the oppreſſion of Kings) *and he will take your fields and your vineyards, and your olive yards, even the beſt of them, and give them to his ſervants. And he will take the tenth of your ſeed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his ſervants.* (By which we ſee that bribery, corruption, and favouritiſm, are the ſtanding vices of Kings.) *And he will take the tenth of your men ſervants, and your maid ſervants, and your goodlieſt young men and your aſſes, and put them to his work: and he will take the tenth of your ſheep, and ye ſhall be his ſervants, and ye ſhall cry out in that day becauſe of your king which ye ſhall have choſen,* AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY. This accounts for the continuation of Monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived ſince, either ſanctify the title, or blot out the ſinfulneſs of the origin; the high encomium given

given of David takes no notice of him *officially as a King*, but only as a *Man* after God's own heart. *Nevertheleſs the people refuſed to obey the voice of Samuel, and they ſaid nay but we will have a King over us, that we may be like all the nations, and that our King may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles.* Samuel continued to reaſon with them but to no purpoſe, he ſet before them their ingratitude but all would not avail, and ſeeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, *I will call unto the Lord and he ſhall ſend thunder and rain* (which then was a puniſhment being in the time of wheat harveſt) *that ye may perceive and ſee that your wickedneſs is great which ye have done in the ſight of the Lord,* IN ASKING YOU A KING. *So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord ſent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel. And all the people ſaid unto Samuel, pray for thy ſervants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for* WE HAVE ADDED UNTO OUR SINS THIS EVIL, TO ASK A KING. Theſe portions of ſcripture are direct and poſitive. They admit of no equivocal conſtruction. That the Almighty hath here entered his proteſt againſt monarchical government is true, or the ſcripture is falſe. And a man hath good

reaſon

reaſon to believe that there is as much of king-craft, as prieſt-craft, in with-holding the ſcripture from the public in popiſh countries. For monarchy in every inſtance is the popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary ſucceſſion; and as the firſt is a degradation and leſſening of ourſelves, ſo the ſecond, claimed as a matter of right, is an inſult and an impoſition on poſterity. For all men being originally equals, no *one* by *birth* could have a right to ſet up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and tho' himſelf might deſerve *ſome* decent degree of honours of his cotemporaries, yet his deſcendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the ſtrongeſt *natural* proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature diſapproves it, otherwiſe ſhe would not ſo frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an *aſs for a lion*.

Secondly, as no man at firſt could poſſeſs any other public honours than were beſtowed upon him, ſo the givers of thoſe honours could have no power to give away the right of poſterity, and though they might ſay "we chooſe you for our head" they could not without

out manifeſt injuſtice to their children ſay "that your children and your children's children ſhall reign over ours forever. Becauſe ſuch an unwiſe, unjuſt, unnatural compact might (perhaps) in the next ſucceſſion put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Moſt wiſe men in their private ſentiments have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of thoſe evils, which when once eſtabliſhed is not eaſily removed: many ſubmit from fear, others from ſuperſtition, and the more powerful part ſhares with the king the plunder of the reſt.

This is ſuppoſing the preſent race of kings in the world to have had an honorable origin: whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity and trace them to their firſt riſe, that we ſhould find the firſt of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of ſome reſtleſs gang, whoſe ſavage manners or pre-eminence in ſubtilty obtained him the title of chief among plunderers: and who by increaſing in power and extending his depredations, over-awed the quiet and defenceleſs to purchaſe their ſafety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his deſcendants, becauſe ſuch

ſuch a perpetual excluſion of themſelves was incompatible with the free and unreſtrained principles they profeſſed to live by. Wherefore, hereditary ſucceſſion in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as ſomething caſual or complimental; but as few or no records were extant in thoſe days, and traditionary hiſtory ſtuff'd with fables, it was very eaſy after the lapſe of a few generations, to trump up ſome ſuperſtitious tale conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the diſorders which threatened, or ſeemed to threaten, on the deceaſe of a leader and the choice of a new one (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at firſt to favour hereditary pretenſions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened ſince, that what at firſt was ſubmitted to as a convenience was afterwards claimed as a right.

England ſince the conqueſt hath known ſome few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones: yet no man in his ſenſes can ſay that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honourable one. A French Baſtard landing

landing with an armed Banditti and eſtabliſhing himſelf king of England againſt the conſent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry raſcally original.—It certainly hath no divinity in it. However it is needleſs to ſpend much time in expoſing the folly of hereditary right, if there are any ſo weak as to believe it, let them promiſcuouſly worſhip the Aſs and Lion and welcome. I ſhall neither copy their humility nor diſturb their devotion.

Yet I ſhould be glad to aſk how they ſuppoſe kings came at firſt? the queſtion admits but of three anſwers, viz. either by lot, by election or by uſurpation. If the firſt king was taken by lot, it eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary ſucceſſion. Saul was by lot yet the ſucceſſion was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that tranſaction there was any intention it ever ſhould. If the firſt king of any country was by election that likewiſe eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next; for to ſay that the right of all future generations is taken away by the act of the firſt electors in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parellel in or out of ſcripture but the doctrine

of

of original ſin, which ſuppoſes the free-will of all men loſt in Adam: and from ſuch compariſon, and it will admit of no other, hereditary ſucceſſion can derive no glory. For as in Adam all ſinned, and as in the firſt electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were ſubjected to Satan, and in the other to ſovereignty; as our innocence was loſt in the firſt, and our authority in the laſt; and as both diſable us from re-aſſuming ſome former ſtate and privilege, it unanſwerably follows that original ſin and hereditary ſucceſſion are parallels. Diſhonorable rank! inglorious connection! yet the moſt ſubtle ſophiſt cannot produce a juſter ſimile.

As to uſurpation no man will be ſo hardy as to defend it; and that William the conqueror was an uſurper is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of Engliſh monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not ſo much the abſurdity as the evil of hereditary ſucceſſion which concerns mankind. Did it enſure a race of good and wiſe men it would have the ſeal of divine authority, but as it opens a door to the *fooliſh*, the *wicked*, and the *improper*, it hath in

in it the nature of oppreſſion. Men who look upon themſelves born to reign, and others to obey, ſoon grow inſolent — ſelected from the reſt of Mankind their minds are eaſily poiſoned by importance; and the world they act in differs ſo materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true intereſts, and when they ſucceed to the government are frequently the moſt ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary ſucceſſion, is, that the throne is ſubject to be poſſeſſed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency acting under the cover of a king have every opportunity and inducement to betray their truſt. The ſame national misfortune happens when a king worn out with age and infirmity enters the laſt ſtage of human weakneſs. In both theſe caſes the public becomes a prey to every miſcreant who can tamper ſucceſsfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The moſt plauſible plea which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary ſucceſſion, is, that it preſerves a Nation from civil wars;

and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas it is the moſt barefaced falſity ever impoſed upon mankind. The whole hiſtory of England diſowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that diſtracted kingdom ſince the conqueſt, in which time there has been (including the Revolution) no leſs than eight civil wars and nineteen Rebellions. Wherefore inſtead of making for peace, it makes againſt it, and deſtroys the very foundation it ſeems to ſtand on.

The conteſt for monarchy and ſucceſſion between the houſes of York and Lancaſter laid England in a ſcene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles beſides ſkirmiſhes and ſieges were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry priſoner to Edward, who in his turn was priſoner to Henry. And ſo uncertain is the fate of war and the temper of a Nation, when nothing but perſonal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a priſon to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land: Yet as ſudden tranſitions of temper are ſeldom laſting. Henry in his turn was driven from the throne and Edward recalled

recalled to ſucceed him. The parliament always following the ſtrongeſt ſide.

This conteſt began in the reign of Henry the ſixth and was not entirely extinguiſhed till Henry the ſeventh. in whom the families were united. Including a period of 67 years, viz. from 1422 to 1489.

In ſhort, monarchy and ſucceſſion have laid (not this or that kingdom only) but the world in blood and aſhes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears teſtimony againſt, and blood will attend it.

If we enquire into the buſineſs of a King we ſhall find that in ſome countries they have none; and after ſauntering away their lives without pleaſure to themſelves or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the ſcene and leave their ſucceſſors to tread the ſame idle round. In abſolute monarchies the whole weight of buſineſs civil and military lies on the King; the children of Iſrael in their requeſt for a King urged this plea "that he may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general as in England, a man would be puzzled to know what is his buſineſs.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic the leſs buſineſs there is for a King. It is ſomewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a Republic; but in its preſent ſtate it is unworthy of the name, becauſe the corrupt influence of the Crown by having all the places in its diſpoſal, hath ſo effectually ſwallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the Houſe of Commons (the Republican part in the conſtitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without underſtanding them. For 'tis the republican and not the monarchical part of the conſtitution of England which Engliſhmen glory in, viz. the liberty of chooſing an houſe of commons from out of their own body—and it is eaſy to ſee that when republican virtue fails, ſlavery enſues. Why is the conſtitution of England ſickly? but becauſe monarchy hath poiſoned the republic; the crown hath engroſſed the commons.

In England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which in plain terms, is to impoveriſh the nation

nation and ſet it together by the ears. A pretty buſineſs indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thouſand ſterling a year for, and worſhipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honeſt man to ſociety and in the ſight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

THOUGHTS, *on the preſent* STATE *of* AMERICAN AFFAIRS,

IN the following pages I offer nothing more than ſimple facts, plain arguments, and common ſenſe: and have no other preliminaries to ſettle with the reader, than that he will diveſt himſelf of prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, and ſuffer his reaſon and his feelings to determine for themſelves: that he will put on or rather that he will not put off the true character of a man, and generouſly enlarge his views beyond the preſent day.

Volumes have been written on the ſubject of the ſtruggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controverſy, from different motives, and with various deſigns; but all have been ineffectual,

ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms as the last resource decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the King, and the Continent has accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the House of Commons on the score that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied "*they will last my time.*" Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the Colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.

The Sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a City, a County, a Province or a Kingdom; but of a Continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable Globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected even to the end of time by the proceedings now. Now is the seed time of Continental union, faith, and honour. The least fracture now, will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound

wound will enlarge with the tree, and poſterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politics is ſtruck—a new method of thinking hath ariſen. All plans, propoſals, &c. prior to the 19th of April, *i. e.* to the commencement of hoſtilities, are like the almanacks of the laſt year; which tho' proper then, are ſuperceded and uſeleſs now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either ſide of the queſtion then, terminated in one and the ſame point, viz. a union with Great Britain; the only difference between the parties, was the method of effecting it; the one propoſing force the other friendſhip; but it hath ſo far happened that the firſt hath failed, and the ſecond hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been ſaid of the advantages of reconciliation, which like an agreeable dream, hath paſſed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we ſhould examine the contrary ſide of the argument, and enquire into ſome of the many material injuries which theſe Colonies ſuſtain, and always will ſuſtain, by being connected with and dependant on Great Britain. To examine

mine that connection and dependance on the principles of nature and common ſenſe, to ſee what we have to truſt to if ſeparated, and what we are to expect if dependant.

I have heard it aſſerted by ſome, that as America hath flouriſhed under her former connection with Great Britain, that the ſame connection is neceſſary towards her future happineſs and will always have the ſame effect—Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument :—we may as well aſſert that becauſe a child hath thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the firſt twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I anſwer, roundly, that America would have flouriſhed as much, and probably much more had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which ſhe hath enriched herſelf are the neceſſaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the cuſtom of Europe.

But ſhe has protected us ſay ſome. That ſhe hath engroſſed us is true, and defended the Continent at our expence as well as her own

own is admitted; and she would have defended Turky from the same motive, viz. the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas! we have been long led away by ancient prejudices and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was *interest* not *attachment*; that she did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our account*, but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us on any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *same account*. Let Britain wave her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connections.

It hath lately been asserted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the Parent Country, *i.e.* that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enemy-

ſhip, if I may ſo call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *ſubjects of Great Britain.*

But Britain is the parent country ſay ſome. Then the more ſhame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor ſavages make war upon their families; wherefore the aſſertion if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly ſo, and the phraſe, *parent* or *mother country*, hath been jeſuitically adopted by the King and his paraſites, with a low papiſtical deſign of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakneſs of our minds. Europe and not England is the parent country of America. This new World hath been the aſylum for the perſecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monſter; and it is ſo far true of England, that the ſame tyranny which drove the firſt emigrants from home, purſues their deſcendants ſtill.

In this extenſive quarter of the Globe, we forget

forget the narrow limits of three hundred and ſixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendſhip on a larger ſcale; we claim brotherhood with every European Chriſtian, and triumph in the generoſity of the ſentiment.

It is pleaſant to obſerve by what regular gradations we ſurmount the force of local prejudice as we enlarge our acquaintance with the World. A man born in any town in England divided into pariſhes, will naturally aſſociate moſt with his fellow pariſhoners (becauſe their intereſts in many caſes will be common) and diſtinguiſh him by the name of *neighbour:* if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a ſtreet, and ſalutes him by the name of *townſman:* if he travel out of the county and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor diviſions of ſtreet and town, and calls him *countryman*, i. e. *county-man:* but if in their foreign excurſions they ſhould aſſociate in France, or any other part of *Europe*, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of *Engliſhmen.* And by a juſt parity of reaſoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the Globe, are *countrymen;* for England, Holland, Germany, or

or Sweden, when compared with the whole, ſtand in the ſame places on the larger ſcale, which the diviſions of ſtreet, town, and county do on the ſmaller ones; Diſtinctions too limited for Continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of Engliſh deſcent. Wherefore, I reprobate the phraſe of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being falſe, ſelfiſh, narrow and ungenerous.

But admitting, that we were all of Engliſh deſcent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain being now an open enemy, extinguiſhes every other name and title: and to ſay that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The firſt king of England, of the preſent line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are deſcendants from the ſame country; wherefore, by the ſame method of reaſoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been ſaid of the united ſtrength of Britain and the Colonies, that in conjunction, they might bid defiance to the world: But this is mere preſumption, the fate of war is uncertain, neither no the expreſſions

preſſions mean any thing, for this Continent would never ſuffer itſelf to be drained of inhabitants, to ſupport the Britiſh Arms in either Aſia, Africa, or Europe.

Beſides, what have we to do with ſetting the world at defiance. Our plan is commerce, and that well attended to, will ſecure us the peace and friendſhip of Europe, becauſe it is the intereſt of all Europe to have America a *free port*. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenneſs of gold and ſilver will ſecure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmeſt advocate for reconciliation, to ſhew, a ſingle advantage that this Continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a ſingle advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods muſt be paid for buy them where we will.

But the injuries and diſadvantages we ſuſtain by that connection, are without number, and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourſelves, inſtruct us to renounce the alliance: Becauſe any ſubmiſſion to, or dependance on Great Britain, tends directly

to

to involve this Continent in European wars and quarrels. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no political connection with any part of it. 'Tis the true intereſt of America, to ſteer clear of European contentions, which ſhe never can do, while by her dependance on Britain, ſhe is made the make-weight in the ſcale of Britiſh politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with Kingdoms, to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, *becauſe, of her connection with Britain.* The next war may not turn out like the laſt, and ſhould it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wiſhing for ſeparation then, becauſe neutrality in that caſe, would be a ſafer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or reaſonable pleads for ſeparation. The blood of the ſlain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the diſtance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a ſtrong and natural proof, that the authority of the one over the other, was never the deſign of Heaven. The time likewiſe at which the Continent

was

was diſcovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled encreaſes the force of it.——The Reformation was preceded by the diſcovery of America; as if the Almighty graciouſly meant to open a ſanctuary to the perſecuted in future years, when home ſhould afford neither friendſhip nor ſafety.

The authority of Great Britain over this Continent is a form of government which ſooner or later muſt have an end: And a ſerious mind can draw no true pleaſure by looking forward, under the painful and poſitive conviction, that what he calls "the preſent conſtitution," is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that *this government* is not ſufficiently laſting to enſure any thing which we may bequeath to poſterity: And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwiſe we uſe them meanly and pitifully. In order to diſcover the line of our duty rightly, we ſhould take our children in our hand, and fix our ſtation a few years farther into life; that eminence will preſent a proſpect, which a few preſent fears and prejudices conceal from our ſight.

Though

Though I would carefully avoid giving unneceſſary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all thoſe who eſpouſe the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following deſcriptions. Intereſted men who are not to be truſted, weak men who *cannot* ſee, prejudiced men who *will not* ſee, and a certain ſet of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deſerves; and this laſt claſs, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cauſe of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live diſtant from the ſcene of preſent ſorrow; the evil is not ſufficiently brought to *their* doors to make *them* feel the precarioufneſs with which all American property is poſſeſſed. But let our imaginations tranſport us for a few moments to Boſton; that ſeat of wretchedneſs will teach us wiſdom, and inſtruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no truſt. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city who but a few months ago were in eaſe and affluence, have now no other alternative than to ſtay and ſtarve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they

they continue within the city, and plundered by government if they leave it. In their preſent condition they are priſoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be expoſed to the fury of both armies.

Men of paſſive tempers look ſomewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, and ſtill hoping for the beſt, are apt to call out. *Come, come, we ſhall be friends again for all this.* But examine the paſſions and feelings of mankind: bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchſtone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully ſerve the power that hath carried fire and ſword into your land? If you cannot do all theſe, then are you only deceiving yourſelves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon poſterity. Your future connection with Britain whom you can neither love nor honour, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of preſent convenience, will in a little time, fall into a relapſe more wretched than the firſt. But if you ſay, you can ſtill paſs the violations over, then I aſk, hath your houſe been burnt? Hath your property been deſtroyed before your face? Are your

wife and children deſtitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you loſt a parent or a child by their hands, and yourſelf the ruined and wretched ſurvivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of thoſe who have. But if you have and ſtill can ſhake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy the name of huſband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the ſpirit of a ſycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by thoſe feelings and affections which nature juſtifies, and without which, we ſhould be incapable of diſcharging the ſocial duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpoſe of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly ſlumbers, that we may purſue determinately ſome fixed object. 'Tis not in the power of England or of Europe to conquer America, if ſhe doth not conquer herſelf by delay and timidity. The preſent winter is worth an age if rightly employed, but if loſt or neglected, the whole Continent will

will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man doth not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

'Tis repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things; to all examples from former ages, to suppose, that this Continent can long remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain doth not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot at this time compass a plan, short of separation, which can promise the Continent even a year's security. Reconciliation is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and art cannot supply her place. For as Milton wisely expresses "never can true reconcilement grow where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and hath tended to convince us that nothing flatters vanity or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning — and nothing hath contributed more, than that very measure, to make the Kings of Europe absolute. Witness Denmark

mark and Sweden. Wherfore, ſince nothing but blows will do, for God's ſake let us come to a final ſeparation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To ſay they will never attempt it again is idle and viſionary, we thought ſo at the repeal of the ſtamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we ſuppoſe that nations which have been once defeated will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters 'tis not in the power of Britain to do this Continent juſtice: the buſineſs of it will ſoon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power ſo diſtant from us, and ſo very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thouſand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting ſeur or five months for an anſwer, which when obtained requires five or ſix more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childiſhneſs—There was a time when it

was

was proper, and there is a proper time for it to ceaſe.

Small iſlands not capable of protecting themſelves are the proper objects for government to take under their care: but there is ſomething very abſurd, in ſuppoſing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an iſland. In no inſtance hath nature made the ſatellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America with reſpect to each other reverſe the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different ſyſtems. England to Europe: America to itſelf.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party or reſentment to eſpouſe the doctrine of ſeparation and independance; I am clearly poſitively, and conſcientiouſly perſuaded that 'tis the true intereſt of this Continent to be ſo; that every thing ſhort of that is mere patchwork, that it can afford no laſting felicity,—that it is leaving the ſword to our children, and ſhrinking back at a time, when a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this Continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifeſted the leaſt inclination towards a compromiſe, we may be aſſured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the Continent, or any ways equal to the expence of blood and treaſure we have been already put to.

The object contended for, ought always to bear ſome juſt proportion to the expence. The removal of North, or the whole deteſtable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary ſtoppage of trade was an inconvenience, which would have ſufficiently ballanced the repeal of all the acts complained off, had ſuch repeals been obtained; but if the whole Continent muſt take up arms, if every man muſt be a ſoldier, 'tis ſcarcely worth our while to fight againſt a contemptible miniſtry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a juſt eſtimation, 'tis as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price for law as for land. As I have always conſidered the independancy of this Continent, as an event which ſooner or later muſt arrive, ſo from the late rapid progreſs of the Continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore on the breaking out of hoſtilities, it was not worth the

the while to have diſputed a matter, which time would have finally redreſſed, unleſs we meant to be in earneſt: otherwiſe it is like waſting an eſtate on a ſuit at law, to regulate the treſpaſſes of a tenant, whoſe leaſe is juſt expiring. No man was a warmer wiſher for reconciliation than myſelf, before the fatal 19th of April 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, ſullen tempered Pharoah of England for ever; and diſdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their ſlaughter, and compoſedly ſleep with their blood upon his ſoul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I anſwer, the ruin of the Continent. And that for ſeveral reaſons,

Firſt. The powers of governing ſtill remaining in the hands of the King, he will have a negative over the whole legiſlation of this Continent: and as he hath ſhewn himſelf ſuch an inveterate enemy to liberty, and diſcovered ſuch a thirſt for arbitrary power; is he, or is he not, a proper man to ſay to theſe Colonies, *You ſhall make no laws but what*

what I pleaſe. And is there any inhabitant in America ſo ignorant, as not to know, that according to what is called the *preſent conſtitution,* that this Continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man ſo unwiſe, as not to ſee, that (conſidering what has happened) he will ſuffer no laws to be made here, but ſuch as ſuit his purpoſe. We may be as effectually enſlaved by the want of laws in America, as by ſubmitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted to keep this Continent as low and humble as poſſible? inſtead of going forward, we ſhall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculouſly petioning.—We are already greater than the King wiſhes us to be, and will he not hereafter endeavour to make us leſs. To bring the matter to one point, is the power who is jealous of our proſperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever ſays *no* to this queſtion is an *Independant,* for independency means no more than whether we ſhall make our own laws, or, whether the King, the greateſt enemy this Continent hath, or can have,

have, ſhall tell us, *there ſhall be no laws but ſuch as I like.*

But the King you'll ſay, hath a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his conſent. In point of right and good order, there is ſomething very ridiculous that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) ſhall ſay to fix millions of people older and wiſer than himſelf, "I forbid this or that act of yours to be law." But in this place I decline this ſort of reply, though I will never ceaſe to expoſe the abſurdity of it, and only anſwer that England being the King's reſidence, and America not ſo, makes quite another caſe. The King's negative here is ten times more dangerous and fatal than it can be in England, for there he will ſcarcely refuſe his conſent to a bill for putting England into as ſtrong a ſtate of defence as poſſible, and here he would never ſuffer ſuch a bill to be paſſed.

America is only a ſecondary object in the ſyſtem of Britiſh politics. England conſults the good of this country, no farther, than it anſwers her own purpoſe. Wherefore her own intereſt leads her to ſuppreſs the growth of ours in every caſe which doth not promote

her advantage, or in the leaſt interferes with it. A pretty ſtate we ſhould ſoon be in, under ſuch a ſecond hand government, conſidering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: And in order to ſhew that reconciliation now is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, *that it would be policy in the King at this time, to repeal the acts for the ſake of reinſtating himſelf in the government of the provinces*; In order that HE MAY ACCOMPLISH BY CRAFT AND SUBTILTY, IN THE LONG RUN, WHAT HE CANNOT DO BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT ONE. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.

Secondly—That as even the beſt terms which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of goverment by guardianſhip, which can laſt no longer than till the Colonies come of age, ſo the general face and ſtate of things in the interim will be unſettled and unpromiſſing: Emigrants of property will not chooſe to come to a country whoſe form of goverment hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and diſturbance: And

And numbers of the preſent inhabitants would lay hold of the interval to diſpoſe of their effects, and quit the Continent.

But the moſt powerful of all arguments is, that nothing but independance i. e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the Continent and preſerve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt ſome where or other, the conſequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

Thouſands are already ruined by Britiſh barbarity ; (thouſands more will probably ſuffer the ſame fate ;) Thoſe men have other feelings than us who having nothing ſuffered. All they now poſſeſs is liberty, what they before enjoyed is ſacrificed to its ſervice, and having nothing more to loſe, they diſdain ſubmiſſion. Beſides, the general temper of the Colonies towards a Britiſh government will be like that of a youth, who is nearly out of his time ; they will care very little about her : And a government which cannot preſerve the peace, is no government at all, and in that caſe we pay our money

for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation? I have heard some men say, many of whom I believe spoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independance, fearing that it would produce civil wars: It is but seldom that our first thoughts are truly correct, and that is the case here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched up connection, than from independance. I make the sufferers case my own, and I protest, that were I driven from house and home, my property destroyed, and my circumstances ruined, that as a man sensible of injuries, I could never relish the doctrine of reconciliation, or consider myself bound thereby.

The Colonies hath manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretence for his fears, on any other grounds, than such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

Where

Where there are no diſtinctions, there can be no ſuperiority; perfect equality affords no temptation. The Republics of Europe are all, (and we may ſay always) in peace. Holland and Swiſſerland, are without wars, foreign or domeſtic: Monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at reſt; the crown itſelf is a temptation to enterpriſing ruffians at home; and that degree of pride and inſolence ever attendant on regal authority, ſwells into a rupture with foreign powers in inſtances, where a republican government by being formed on more natural principles, would negociate the miſtake.

If there is any true cauſe for fear reſpecting independance, it is becauſe no plan is yet laid down. Men do not ſee their way out—Wherefore, as an opening into that buſineſs I offer the following hints; at the ſame time modeſtly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myſelf, than that they may be the means of giving riſe to ſomething better. Could the ſtraggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wiſe and able men to improve into uſeful matter.

Let the aſſemblies be annual with a preſident only. The repreſentation more equal. Their buſineſs wholly domeſtic, and ſubject to the authority of a Continental Congreſs.

Let each Colony be divided into ſix, eight or ten convenient diſtricts, each diſtrict to ſend a proper number of Delegates to Congreſs, ſo that each Colony ſend at leaſt thirty. The whole number in Congreſs will be at leaſt 390. Each Congreſs to ſit and to chooſe a preſident by the following method. When the Delegates are met, let a Colony be taken from the whole thirteen Colonies by lot, after which let the whole Congreſs chooſe (by ballot) a preſident from out of the Delegates of that province. In the next Congreſs let a Colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that Colony from which the preſident was taken in the former Congreſs, and ſo proceeding on till the whole thirteen ſhall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may paſs into a law but what is ſatisfactorily juſt, not leſs than three fifths of the Congreſs to be called a majority——He that will promote diſcord under a government ſo equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But

But as there is a peculiar delicacy from whom, or in what manner this buſineſs muſt firſt ariſe, and as it ſeems moſt agreeable and conſiſtent, that it ſhould come from ſome intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congreſs and the People. Let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held in the following manner, and for the following purpoſe.

A Committee of twenty ſix members of Congreſs, viz. Two for each Colony. Two members from each Houſe of Aſſembly, or Provincial convention; and five Repreſentatives of the people at large, to be choſen in the capital city or town of each Province, for, and in behalf of the whole Province, by as many qualified voters as ſhall think proper to attend from all parts of the Province for that purpoſe: or if more convenient, the Repreſentatives may be choſen in two or three of the moſt populous parts thereof. In this CONFERENCE thus aſſembled, will be united the two grand principles of buſineſs, *knowlege* and *power*. The members of Congreſs, Aſſemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and uſeful

ful counſellors, and the whole, by being impowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their buſineſs be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies; (anſwering, to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of chooſing Members of Congreſs, Members of Aſſembly, with their date of ſitting, and drawing the line of buſineſs and juriſdiction between them: (Always remembering, that our ſtrength and happineſs, is Continental not Provincial. Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exerciſe of religion, according to the dictates of conſcience; with ſuch other matters as is neceſſary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the ſaid conference to diſſolve, and the bodies which ſhall be choſen conformable to the ſaid charter, to be the Legiſlators and Governors of this Continent, for the time being: Whoſe peace and happineſs, may God preſerve. AMEN.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated

delegated for this or ſome ſimilar purpoſe, I offer them the following extracts from that wiſe obſerver on governments DRAGONETTI. "The Science" ſays he "of the "Politician conſiſts in fixing the true point "of happineſs and freedom. Thoſe men "would deſerve the gratitude of ages, who "ſhould diſcover a mode of government "that contained the greateſt ſum of indivi-"dual happineſs, with the leaſt national "expence.

DRAGONETTI on Virtue and Rewards.

But where ſays ſome is the King of America? I'll tell you Friend, he reigns above; and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Great Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be ſolemnly ſet apart for proclaiming the Charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a Crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that ſo far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in abſolute governments the King is law, ſo in free countries the law *ought* to be King; and there ought to be no other. But leſt any ill uſe ſhould afterwards ariſe,

let the Crown at the concluſion of the ceremony be demoliſhed, and ſcattered among the People whoſe right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: and when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the precarioufneſs of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiſer and ſafer, to form a conſtitution of our own, in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to truſt ſuch an intereſting event to time and chance. If we omit it now ſome *Maſſanello may hereafter ariſe, who laying hold of popular diſquietudes, may collect together the deſperate and the diſcontented, and by aſſuming to themſelves the powers of government, may ſweep away the liberties of the Continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering ſituation of things, will be a temptation for ſome deſperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in ſuch a caſe, what relief can Britain give? Ere ſhe could hear the news, the fatal buſſineſs might be done; and ourſelves ſuffering

* Thomas Anello, otherwiſe Maſſanello, a fiſherman of Naples, who, after ſpiriting up his countrymen in the public market place, againſt the oppreſſion of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then ſubject, prompted them to revolt, and in the ſpace of a day became King.

ing like the wretched Britons under the oppreſſion of the Conqueror. Ye that oppoſe independance now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the ſeat of government. There are thouſands, and tens of thouſands, who would think it glorious to expel from the Continent, that barbarous and helliſh power, which have ſtirred up the Indians and the Negroes to deſtroy us, the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherouſly by them.

To talk of friendſhip with thoſe in whom our reaſon forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded thro' a thouſand pores inſtruct us to deteſt, is madneſs and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reaſon to hope, that as the relationſhip expires, the affection will encreaſe, or that we ſhall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye reſtore to us the time that is paſt? Can ye give to proſtitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The laſt cord now is broken, the

the people of England are preſenting addreſſes againſt us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; ſhe would ceaſe to be nature if ſhe did. As well can the lover forgive the raviſher of his miſtreſs, as the Continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us theſe unextinguiſhable feelings for good and wiſe purpoſes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They diſtinguiſh us from the herd of common animals. The ſocial compact would diſſolve, and juſtice be extirpated the earth, or have only a caſual exiſtence were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer would often eſcape unpuniſhed, did not the injuries which our tempers ſuſtain, provoke us into juſtice.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppoſe not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, ſtand forth! Every ſpot of the old world is over run with oppreſſion. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Aſia and Africa have long expelled her.—Europe regards her like a ſtranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an aſylum for mankind.

Or

OF THE PRESENT ABILITY OF AMERICA, WITH SOME MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS.

I Have never met with a man, either in England or America, who hath not confeſſed his opinion, that a ſeparation between the countries, would take place, one time or other: And there is no inſtance, in which we have ſhewn leſs judgment; than in endeavouring to deſcribe what we call, the ripeneſs or fitneſs of the Continent for independance.

As all men allow the meaſure, and vary only in their opinion of the time, let us in order to remove miſtakes, take a general ſurvey of things, and endeavour if poſſible, to find out the very time. But I need not go far, the enquiry ceaſes at once, for, the *time hath found us.* The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things, prove the fact.

'Tis not in the numbers but in unity that our great ſtrength lies: yet our preſent numbers are ſufficient to repel the force of all the world. The Continent hath at this time the largeſt diſciplined army of any power

power under Heaven: and is juſt arrived at that pitch of ſtrength, in which no ſingle Colony is able to ſupport itſelf, and the whole, when united, is able to do any thing. Our land force is more than ſufficient, and as to navy affairs, we cannot be inſenſible that Britain would never ſuffer an American man of war to be built, while the Continent remained in her hands. Wherefore, we ſhould be no forwarder an hundred years hence, in that branch than we are now; but the truth is, we ſhould be leſs ſo, becauſe the timber of the country is every day diminiſhing.

Were the Continent crowded with inhabitants, her ſufferings under the preſent circumſtances would be intolerable. The more ſea-port towns we had, the more ſhould we have both to defend and to loſe. Our preſent numbers are ſo happily proportioned to our wants, that no man need be idle. The diminution of trade affords an army, and the neceſſities of an army create a new trade.

Debts we have none: and whatever we may contract on this account will ſerve as a glorious memento of our virtue. Can we but

but leave poſterity with a ſettled form of government, an independant conſtitution of its own, the purchaſe at any price will be cheap. But to expend millions for the ſake of getting a few vile acts repealed, and routing the preſent miniſtry only, is unworthy of the charge, and is uſing poſterity with the utmoſt cruelty; becauſe it is leaving them the great work to do and a debt upon their backs from which they derive no advantage. Such a thought is unworthy a man of honour, and is the true characteriſtic of a narrow heart and a pidling politician.

The debt we may contract doth not deſerve our regard if the work be but accompliſhed. No nation ought to be without a debt. A national debt is a national bond: and when it bears no intereſt, is in no caſe a grievance. Britain is oppreſſed with a debt of upwards of one hundred and forty millions ſterling, for which ſhe pays upwards of four millions intereſt. And as a compenſation for her debt, ſhe has a large navy; America is without a debt, and without a navy; but for the twentieth part of the Engliſh national debt, could have a navy as large again. The navy of England is not worth

worth at this time more than three millions and an half ſterling.

No country on the globe is ſo happily ſituated, or ſo internally capable of raiſing a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cord ge are her natural produce. We need go abroad for nothing. Whereas the Dutch, who make large profits by hiring out their ſhips of war to the Spaniards and Portugueſe, are obliged to import moſt of the materials they uſe. We ought to view the building a fleet as an article of commerce, it being the natural manufactory of this country. 'Tis the beſt money we can lay out. A navy when finiſhed is worth more than it coſt: And is that nice point in national policy, in which commerce and protection are united. Let us build; if we want them not, we can ſell; and by that means re-place our paper currency with ready gold and ſilver.

In point of manning a fleet, people in general run into great errors; it is not neceſſary that one fourth part ſhould be ſailors. The Terrible Privateer, Capt. Death, ſtood the hotteſt engagement of any ſhip laſt war, yet had not twenty ſailors on board, though

though her complement of men was upwards of two hundred. A few able and ſocial ſailors will ſoon inſtruct a ſufficient number of active landmen in the common work of a ſhip. Wherefore we never can be more capable to begin on maritime matters than now, while our timber is ſtanding, our fiſheries blocked up, and our ſailors and ſhipwrights out of employ. Men of war, of ſeventy and eighty guns were built forty years ago in New England, and why not the ſame now? Ship building is America's greateſt pride, and in which, ſhe will in time excel the whole world. The great empires of the eaſt are moſtly inland, and conſequently excluded from the poſſibility of rivalling her. Africa is in a ſtate of barbariſm; and no power in Europe, hath either ſuch an extent of coaſt, or ſuch an internal ſupply of materials. Where nature hath given the one, ſhe has with-held the other; to America only hath ſhe been liberal of both. The vaſt empire of Ruſſia is almoſt ſhut out from the ſea; wherefore, her boundleſs forreſts, her tar, iron, and cordage are only articles of commerce.

In point of ſafety, ought we to be without a fleet? We are not the little people

now, which we were ſixty years ago, at that time we might have truſted our property in the ſtreets, or fields rather, and ſlept ſecurely without locks or bolts to our doors and windows The caſe now is altered, and our methods of defence, ought to improve with our increaſe of property. A common pirate, twelve months ago, might have come up the Delaware, and laid the city of Philadelphia under inſtant Contribution for what ſum he pleaſed; and the ſame might have happened to other places. Nay, any daring fellow in a brig of 14 or 16 guns might have robbed the whole Continent, and carried off half a million of money. Theſe are circumſtances which demand our attention and point out the neceſſity of naval protection.

Some perhaps will ſay, that after we have made it up with Britain that ſhe will protect us. Can we be ſo unwiſe as to mean that ſhe ſhall keep a navy in our Harbours for that purpoſe? Common ſenſe will tell us, that the power which hath endeavoured to ſubdue us, is of all others, the moſt improper to defend us. Conqueſt may be effected under the pretence of friendſhip; and ourſelves, after a long and brave reſiſtance,

ance, be at laſt cheated into ſlavery. And if her ſhips are not to be admitted into our harbours, I would aſk, how is ſhe to protect us? A navy three or four thouſand miles off can be of little uſe, and on ſudden emergencies, none at all. Wherefore if we muſt hereafter protect ourſelves, why not do it for ourſelves? why do it for another?

The Engliſh liſt of ſhips of war, is long and formidable, but not a tenth part of them are at any one time fit for ſervice, numbers of them not in being; yet their names are pompouſly continued in the liſt if only a plank is left of the ſhip: and not a fifth part of ſuch as are fit for ſervice, can be ſpared on any one ſtation at one time. The Eaſt and Weſt Indies, Mediterranean, Africa, and other parts over which Britain extends her claim, make large demands upon her navy. From a mixture of prejudice and innatention, we have contracted a falſe notion reſpecting the navy of England, and have talked as if we ſhould have the whole of it to encounter at once, and for that reaſon, ſuppoſed, that we muſt have one as large; which not being inſtantly practicable, have been made uſe of by a ſet of diſguiſed tories to diſcourage our beginning

ginning thereon. Nothing can be farther from truth and this, for if America had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, ſhe would be by far an over match for her; becauſe as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force would be employed on our own coaſt, where we ſhould, in the long run, have two to one the advantage of thoſe who had three or four thouſand miles to ſail over, before they could attack us, and the ſame diſtance to return in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain by her fleet hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the Weſt Indies, which by laying in the neighbourhood of the Continent lies entirely at its mercy.

Some method might be fallen on to keep up a naval force in time of peace, if we ſhould not judge it neceſſary to ſupport a conſtant navy. If premiums were to be given to merchants to build and employ in their ſervice, ſhips mounted with 20 30, 40, or 50 guns (the premiums to be in proportion to the loſs of bulk to the merchant) fifty or ſixty of thoſe ſhips, with a few guard ſhips on conſtant duty would keep up a ſufficient navy, and that without burdening

dening ourſelves with the evil ſo loudly complained of in England, of ſuffering their fleets in time of peace to lie rotting in the docks. To unite the ſinews of commerce and defence is ſound policy; for when our ſtrength and our riches, play into each other's hand, we need fear no external enemy.

In almoſt every article of defence we abound. Hemp flouriſhes even to rankneſs, ſo that we need not want cordage. Our iron is ſuperior to that of other countries. Our ſmall arms equal to any in the world. Cannon we can caſt at pleaſure. Salt-petre and gun powder we are every day producing. Our knowledge is hourly improving. Reſolution is our inherent character, and courage hath never yet forſaken us. Wherefore, what is it that we want? why is it that we heſitate? From Britain we can expect nothing but ruin. If ſhe is once admitted to the government of America again, this Continent will not be worth living in. Jealouſies will be always ariſing; inſurrections will be conſtantly happening; and who will go forth to quell them? who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience? the difference between

Pennſylvania

Pennſylvania and Connecticut, reſpecting ſome unlocated lands, ſhews the inſignificance of a Britiſh government, and fully proves, that nothing but Continental authority can regulate Continental matters.

Another reaſon why the preſent time is preferable to all others, is, that the fewer our numbers are, the more land there is yet unoccupied, which inſtead of being laviſhed by the king on his worthleſs dependants, may be hereafter applied, not only to the diſcharge of the preſent debt, but to the conſtant ſupport of government. No nation under Heaven hath ſuch an advantage as this.

The infant ſtate of the Colonies, as it is called, ſo far from being againſt, is an argument in favour of independance. We are ſufficiently numerous, and were we more ſo, we might be leſs united. 'Tis a matter worthy of obſervation, that the more a country is peopled, the ſmaller their armies are. In military numbers the ancients far exceeded the moderns: and the reaſon is evident, for trade being the conſequence of population, men become too much abſorbed thereby to attend to any thing elſe.

Commerce

Commerce diminiſhes the ſpirit both of Patriotiſm and military defence. And hiſtory ſufficiently informs us that the braveſt atchievements were always accompliſhed in the non-age of a nation. With the encreaſe of commerce England hath loſt its ſpirit. The city of London, notwithſtanding its numbers, ſubmits to continued inſults with the patience of a coward. The more men have to loſe, the leſs willing are they to venture. The rich are in general ſlaves to fear, and ſubmit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a ſpaniel.

Youth is the ſeed time of good habits as well in nations as in individuals. It might be difficult, if not impoſſible to form the Continent into one Government half a century hence. The vaſt variety of intereſts occaſioned by an increaſe of trade and population would create confuſion. Colony would be againſt Colony. Each being able would ſcorn each others aſſiſtance: and while the proud and fooliſh gloried in their little diſtinctions, the wiſe would lament that the union had not been formed before. Wherefore, the preſent time is the true time for eſtabliſhing it. The intimacy which is contracted in infancy, and the friendſhip which

which is formed in misfortune, are of all others, the moſt laſting and unalterable. Our preſent union is marked with both theſe characters: we are young, and we have been diſtreſſed; but our concord hath withſtood our troubles, and fixes a memorable Æra for poſterity to glory in.

The preſent time likewiſe, is that peculiar time, which never happens to a nation but once, viz. the time of forming itſelf into a government. Moſt nations have let ſlip the opportunity, and by that means have been compelled to receive laws from their conquerors, inſtead of making laws for themſelves. Firſt they had a king, and then a form of government; whereas the articles or charter of government ſhould be formed firſt, and men delegated to execute them afterward: but from the errors of other nations, let us learn wiſdom, and lay hold of the preſent opportunity——*To begin government at the right end.*

When William the Conqueror ſubdued England, he gave them law at the point of the ſword; and until we conſent that the ſeat of government in America be legally and authoritatively occupied; we ſhall be in danger

danger of having it filled by ſome fortunate ruffian, who may treat us in the ſame manner, and then, where will be our freedom? where our property.

As to religion, I hold it to be the indiſpenſible duty of government, to protect all conſcientious profeſſors thereof, and I know of no other buſineſs which government hath to do therewith: let a man throw aſide that narrowneſs of ſoul, that ſelfiſhneſs of principle, which the niggards of all profeſſions are ſo unwilling to part with, and he will be delivered of his fears on that head. Suſpicion is the companion of mean ſouls and the bane of all good ſociety. For myſelf I fully and conſcientiouſly believe, that it is the will of the Almighty, that there ſhould be div[illegible] opinions amon[illegible]

(for I only presume to offer hints, not plans,) and in this place I take the liberty of re-mentioning the subject, by observing, that a charter is to be understood as a bond of solemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to support the right of every separate part, whether of religion, personal freedom, or property. A right reckoning makes long friends.

In a former page I likewise mentioned the necessity of a large and equal representation; and there is no political matter which more deserves our attention. A small number of electors, or a small number of representatives, are equally dangerous. But if the number of the representatives be not only small, but unequal, the danger is encreased men delegated to exe- I mentiafterward: but from the errors of other nations, let us learn wisdom, and lay hold of the present opportunity——*To begin government at the right end.*

When William the Conqueror subdued England, he gave them law at the point of the sword; and until we consent that the seat of government in America be legally and authoritatively occupied; we shall be in danger

but many ſtrong and ſtriking reaſons may be given to ſhew, that nothing can ſettle our affairs ſo expeditiouſly as an open and determined declaration for independance. Some of which are,

Firſt.—It is the cuſtom of Nations when any two are at war, for ſome other powers not engaged in the quarrel, to ſtep in as Mediators and bring about the preliminaries of a Peace: but while America calls herſelf the Subject of Great Britain, no power however well
off

their peace, for men to be in arms under the name of Subjects: we on the spot can solve the paradox; but to unite resistance and subjection, requires an idea much too refined for common understanding.

Fourthly—Were a manifesto to be published and dispatched to foreign Courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually used for redress, declaring at the same time, that [illegible] being able any longer presentation; and there is nder the cruel ter which more deserves our atte[illegible]ion. had small number of electors, or a small number of representatives, are equally dangerous. But if the number of the representatives be not only small, but unequ[illegible] the danger is encre[illegible]d men delegated to exe[illegible] I mentiafterward: but from the errors of other nations, let us learn wisdom, and lay hold of the present opportunity——————*To begin government at the right end.*

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